

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/E:RPOST/L:JMICHEL/HFO  
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY  
S/P  
PM  
AF:WCHARROP  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI FLASH

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 070318

EXDIS FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SO, MASS

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR SPECIAL EMISSARY

THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES SUGGESTED LANGUAGE FOR YOUR PRESENTATION TO PRESIDENT SIAD BARRE AND FOR YOUR RESPONSES TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS HE MAY RAISE. YOU MAY OF COURSE ADJUST THIS PRESENTATION IN YOUR DISCRETION WITHIN THE GENERAL GUIDELINES LAID DOWN BY THE SCC MEETING OF MARCH 16. SEPTTEL PROVIDES THE TEXT OF AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS WITH PRESIDENT SIAD OFSTGNET AS ONE METHOD TO OBTAIN THE ASSURANCES WE REQUIRE IN REGARD TO SOMALIA'S NEIGHBORS. IN YOUR DISCRETION YOU MAY SIGN THE LETTER ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

1. BEGIN SUGGESTED LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: THE  
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PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO CONVEY HIS PERSONAL GREETINGS AND HIS RESPECT FOR YOUR DECISION TO WITHDRAW SOMALI FORCES FROM THE OGADEN. WE RECOGNIZE THE GRAVITY OF THAT DECISION. WE BELIEVE IT WAS CORRECT AND WILL ENHANCE SOMALIA'S INTERNATIONAL STANDING.

2. THE PRESIDENT WISHES YOU TO KNOW OF HIS PERSONAL DESIRE THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION. PEACE AND STABILITY WILL ENABLE A MORE PROSPEROUS AND STRONG SOMALIA TO

TURN ITS FULL ATTENTION, RESOURCES AND GREAT ENERGY TO THE NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE.

3. WE ARE PREPARED TO HELP SOMALIA IN ITS HOUR OF NEED BECAUSE OUR NATIONS SHARE THE OBJECTIVES THAT PEACE COME TO THE HORN, THAT THE SOMALI PEOPLE PROSPER AND THAT SOVIET AND CUBAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN AFRICA CEASE.

4. THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE KNOWN ITS VIEWS TO ETHIOPIA, THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA THAT NO REPRISALS MUST BE TAKEN AGAINST THE INHABITANTS OF THE OGADEN AND HAVE FOCUSSED INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION ON THIS POTENTIAL PROBLEM. WE HAVE BEEN PLEASED BY INDICATIONS THAT THESE CONCERNS ARE BEING HEEDDED BY THE ETHIOPIANS.

5. THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO ASSURE YOU THAT WE WANT TO PUT ANY PAST MISUNDERSTANDINGS BEHIND US. BY SENDING ME AS HIS SPECIAL EMISSARY TO YOU IMMEDIATELY UPON THE DEPARTURE OF SOMALI TROOPS FROM THE OGADEN, PRESIDENT CARTER WANTED TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE SOMALI PEOPLE THAT IN THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE, THEY CAN COUNT ON THE HELP OF THE UNITED STATES. HE ALSO WANTED TO DEMONSTRATE HIS GENUINE WILLINGNESS TO WORK  
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WITH YOU PERSONALLY AND THE GOVERNMENT YOU LEAD IN THE DIFFICULT TASKS THAT LIE AHEAD.

6. TO PROVIDE PUBLIC EVIDENCE OF THE US WILLINGNESS TO HELP SOMALIA PROVIDE FOR THE HUMAN NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE, I HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED DURING MY STAY HERE TO SIGN THE \$7 MILLION FOOD AID AGREEMENT WHICH HAS BEEN WORKED OUT BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. THE UNITED STATES IS ALSO PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE IMMEDIATELY TOWARD HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES FROM THE OGADEN CONFLICT.

7. THE PRESIDENT IS NOW WILLING TO SEEK AUTHORITY FROM THE CONGRESS TO OBTAIN MILITARY AND ADDITIONAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR SOMALIA IN ORDER THAT THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING THE WELFARE OF THE SOMALI PEOPLE CAN PROCEED AT AN ACCELERATED PACE AND IN PEACE AND SECURITY. EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO EXPEDITE THE PROCESS OF FIRST SEEKING CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL AND THEN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE SO THAT SOMALIA MAY RECEIVE ADDITIONAL AMERI-

CAN AID IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WE ALSO STAND READY TO WORK WITH SOMALIA'S FRIENDS TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO ASSIST YOUR COUNTRY.

8. I WANT TO DISCUSS IN GREATER DETAIL THE FORMS OF THIS ASSISTANCE AND YOUR PERCEPTIONS OF SOMALIA'S NEEDS.

HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENT ASKED ME TO REQUEST THAT YOU REAFFIRM YOUR GOVERNMENT'S ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UN AND OAU CHARTERS AND SPECIFICALLY THAT YOU GIVE THE UNITED STATES YOUR ASSURANCE THAT SOMALIA WILL RESPECT THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF HER NEIGHBORS. PRESIDENT CARTER BELIEVES THAT SUCH ASSURANCES ARE IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE IN THE REGION AND THUS IN SOMALIA'S INTEREST. IN REQUESTING THIS ASSURANCE WE ASK SOMALIA TO RECOGNIZE A STANDARD OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT WHICH  
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WE BELIEVE ESSENTIAL IF IT IS TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS.

9. I MUST TELL YOU FRANKLY AND DIRECTLY AS FRIENDS TALK TO FRIENDS THAT WITHOUT THIS ASSURANCE THE PRESIDENT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO REQUEST THAT THE CONGRESS PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA.

10. I AM, OF COURSE, AWARE THAT SATISFYING THE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST IS NOT EASY FOR YOU. YOUR CONCERN FOR THE RIGHTS AND WELFARE OF SOMALIS WHO LIVE OUTSIDE SOMALIA PROPER IS PERFECTLY UNDERSTANDABLE. I UNDERSTAND, TOO, THAT YOU FEEL THAT HISTORY HAS BEEN UNJUST TO THE SOMALI PEOPLE AND I SYMPATHIZE WITH THAT FEELING. YOU HAVE JUST BEEN THROUGH A TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE DURING WHICH YOU ATTEMPTED TO PURSUE A GOAL YOU FEEL PASSIONATELY TO BE JUST, AND YOU PURSUED IT UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH YOU HAD REASON TO HOPE THAT YOUR CAUSE WOULD RECEIVE SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY THE WESTERN WORLD. IT HAS NOW BEEN TELLINGLY DEMONSTRATED THAT, NO MATTER HOW MUCH SYMPATHY THERE MIGHT BE IN THE WORLD FOR SOMALIA, THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG NATIONS THAT BORDERS--HOWEVER THEY CAME INTO EXISTENCE--MUST NOT BE ALTERED BY VIOLENT MEANS.

11. SUCH ASSURANCES ABOUT RESPECTING YOUR NEIGHBORS' TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY HAVE BEEN MADE PUBLICLY BY SOMALI LEADERS IN THE PAST, BUT I CAN UNDERSTAND THAT THIS MIGHT BE DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO DO UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. WE HAVE NO DESIRE TO EMBARRASS YOU OR YOUR PEOPLE, BUT RATHER TO FIND SOME WAY TO SATISFY OUR PUBLIC AND LEGAL REQUIREMENTS SO THAT WE CAN PROCEED

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TO ASSIST YOU AND YOUR COUNTRY. WE WOULD HAVE TO BE IN A POSITION TO STATE PUBLICLY, AT A MINIMUM, THAT THE SOMALI GOVERNMENT HAD PROVIDED ADEQUATE ASSURANCES IN THIS RESPECT. THE FORM OF THAT ASSURANCE NEED NOT BE

MADE PUBLIC, THOUGH IT WOULD HAVE TO BE TRANSMITTED TO CONGRESS ON A CLASSIFIED BASIS. IT COULD BE AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS IN WHICH WE SET FORTH THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH WE WOULD SUPPLY MILITARY ARTICLES AND THE SOMALI GOVERNMENT RETURNS A LETTER ACCEPTING THESE CONDITIONS. THESE CONDITIONS WOULD ALSO INCLUDE LEGALLY REQUIRED ASSURANCES THAT THE ARTICLES FURNISHED WILL BE USED ONLY FOR INTERNAL SECURITY AND SELF-DEFENSE, THAT THEY WILL NOT BE TRANSFERRED WITHOUT US CONSENT AND THAT THEIR SECURITY WILL BE PROTECTED.

12. PRESIDENT CARTER ALSO ASKED ME TO SEEK YOUR VIEWS CONCERNING THE NEXT STEPS TO BE TAKEN TOWARD ACHIEVING A MORE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT TO THE PROBLEMS THAT EXIST BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE OAU GOOD OFFICES COMMITTEE PLANS TO HOLD A MEETING NEXT MONTH. UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES SOMALIA MIGHT EXPECT TO RECEIVE CONSIDERABLE AFRICAN SUPPORT IF IT PRESSED FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WHICH RESULTED IN A DEFINED BORDER AND A REDUCTION OR ELIMINATION OF FRICTION BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

13. IN VIEW OF THE CONTINUING TENSIONS IN THE REGION AND THE PARTICULAR DELICACY OF THE PRESENT SITUATION, WE ARE CONCERNED THAT REMAINING INSURGENT FORCES IN THE OGADEN MAY INITIATE NEW ARMED CLASHES. SUCH INCIDENTS COULD PROVIDE A FURTHER JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF CUBAN AND SOVIET FORCES, COULD PROVOKE REPRISALS AGAINST INNOCENT PEOPLE, AND COULD BE USED AS A PRETEXT FOR ATTACKS UPON SOMALIA. WHAT ARE YOUR INTENTIONS IN REGARD TO THESE INSURGENTS? THEIR DEPENDENCE UPON SOURCES OF SUPPLY WITHIN YOUR COUNTRY  
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MUST GIVE YOU A DECISIVE INFLUENCE OVER THEM.

14. THIS IS ALSO TRUE IN DJIBOUTI, WHERE VIOLENCE ATTRIBUTED TO PRO-SOMALI GROUPS COULD EASILY LEAD TO ETHIOPIAN COUNTERACTION, WHICH UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS WOULD GRAVELY ENDANGER DJIBOUTI'S STABILITY. WE HOPE THAT EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO PREVENT INSURGENT ATTACKS AGAINST THE DJIBOUTI-ADDIS ABABA RAILWAY. INSURGENT INCIDENTS WHICH APPEARED TO HAVE THE SUPPORT OR APPROVAL OF THE SOMALI GOVERNMENT COULD SERIOUSLY DIMINISH THE PROSPECTS FOR CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF

INCREASED US ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA. END SUGGESTED PRESENTATION LANGUAGE.

15. IF SIAD AGREES TO PROVIDE THE ASSURANCES WE REQUIRE, YOU COULD RESPOND ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

--PRESIDENT CARTER HAS AUTHORIZED ME TO TELL YOU WE ARE PREPARED TO SEND A SURVEY TEAM TO DISCUSS WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT YOUR DEFENSIVE NEEDS, LOOKING TOWARD A SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONAL PACKAGE OF MILITARY SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT FOR YOUR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES.

--IN ADDITION, AS AN EARNEST OF OUR SINCERITY, I AM AUTHORIZED TO INFORM YOU THAT WE ARE PREPARED IMMEDIATELY TO APPROACH THE CONGRESS REGARDING A DOLLARS 10 MILLION PACKAGE OF NON-LETHAL DEFENSIVE ITEMS, WHICH WE COULD MAKE AVAILABLE TO YOU QUICKLY UNDER MILITARY SALES CREDIT TERMS.

--WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO DISCUSS WITH YOUR ECONOMIC PLANNERS A SUBSTANTIALLY ENLARGED PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC  
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ASSISTANCE IN ADDITION TO THE PL-480, RELIEF AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE WE ARE ALREADY PROVIDING OR ARE IN THE PROCESS OF OBTAINING FOR SOMALIA. WHEN I HAVE REPORTED TO PRESIDENT CARTER ON OUR TALKS I WILL PROVIDE YOU THROUGH AMBASSADOR LOUGHRAN A MORE DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE TYPES AND AMOUNTS OF ASSISTANCE WHICH WE THINK WILL BE POSSIBLE. AND OF COURSE WE WILL LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH YOUR DEVELOPMENT PLANNERS TO ENSURE THAT WHAT WE PROVIDE IS CONSISTENT WITH YOUR PROGRAMS AND PRIORITIES AS WELL AS THE GUIDELINES WHICH GOVERN OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

--I WISH ALSO TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONSULT WITH OTHER FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS TO ENCOURAGE THE PROVISION OF INCREASED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND DEFENSIVE SECURITY SUPPORT.

16. FOLLOWING ARE SUGGESTED RESPONSES TO POINTS WHICH SIAD BARRE MAY RAISE:

A) SIAD MAY EXPRESS FRUSTRATION OVER THE IMPOSITION OF "ADDITIONAL" US CONDITIONS FOR MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOLLOWING HIS ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL THAT HE WITHDRAW COUPLED WITH OUR OFFER TO CONSIDER ASSISTANCE.

SUGGESTED REPLY:

--THE PRESIDENT DID NOT IMPOSE ADDITIONAL CONDITIONS. IN OUR VIEW, HIS STATEMENT REFLECTED A POSITION WHICH HAS BEEN IMPLICIT IN THE REPEATED US ENDORSEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF THE OGADEN CONFLICT, AS WELL AS IN THE SUSPENSION, ONCE REGULAR SOMALI UNITS WERE DETECTED IN THE OGADEN, OF OUR AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO PROVIDE DEFENSIVE

ASSISTANCE, AND IN OUR CALL FOR A SOMALI WITHDRAWAL AS  
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A NECESSARY PRECONDITION TO SETTLEMENT. WITHOUT  
ASSURANCE THAT SOMALIA INTENDS IN THE FUTURE TO RESPECT  
ITS BORDERS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS, IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE  
FOR THE US TO PROVIDE SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA  
BEYOND THE ASSISTANCE WE ARE PROVIDING NOW.

B) SIAD MAY ASK WHETHER THE US INTENDS TO SEEK SIMILAR  
ASSURANCES FROM SOMALIA'S NEIGHBORS CONCERNING THEIR  
INTENTION TO RESPECT SOMALIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

SUGGESTED REPLY:

--IT HAS BEEN OUR IMPRESSION THAT ALL OF SOMALIA'S  
NEIGHBORS HAVE GONE ON RECORD IN PUBLIC AS STATING THEY  
HAVE NO CLAIMS WITH RESPECT TO THE TERRITORIES OR  
POPULATIONS OF ANY OF THEIR NEIGHBORS.

C) SIAD MAY RAISE THE ISSUE OF SELF-DETERMINATION,  
ASSERT THAT THIS PRINCIPLE TAKES PRECEDENCE (AT LEAST FOR  
SOMALIA) OVER THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF "IMPERIAL"  
BOUNDARIES, AND ASK WHY THE US APPEARS TO IGNORE THIS  
WILSONIAN PRINCIPLE IN DEALING WITH SOMALIA'S SITUATION.

SUGGESTED REPLY:

--THE US DOES SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF SELF-DETERMINATION  
AS ONE OF THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS, BUT NOT TO THE EXCLUSION OF OTHER PRINCIPLES,  
INCLUDING TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NON-USE OF FORCE TO  
RESOLVE INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES. IN THE PARTICULAR  
CASE OF AFRICA, THE AFRICAN STATES THEMSELVES, THROUGH  
THE OAU CHARTER, HAVE AGREED THAT THE PRESERVATION OF  
EXISTING BOUNDARIES FOR THE SAKE OF HARMONY BETWEEN  
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STATES MUST TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE UNIFICATION OF  
ETHNIC GROUPINGS BASED ON SELF-DETERMINATION. SINCE  
WE ALSO ARE COMMITTED TO THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE OF  
MAJORITY RULE, WE FIND NO GROUNDS FOR CHALLENGING THIS  
DECISION BY THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AFRICAN STATES.

D) SIAD MAY ASK HOW THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES TO GET  
THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS OUT OF ETHIOPIA:

SUGGESTED REPLY:

--THIS IS A COMPLICATED SITUATION, AND WE DO NOT HAVE

THE MEANS OF FORCING THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS OUT.

--WE BELIEVE THAT YOUR ASSURANCES REGARDING THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF YOUR NEIGHBORS WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR US TO PRESS THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS TO WITHDRAW. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD ALSO MAKE IT EASIER FOR MANY OTHER AFRICAN STATES TO PUBLICLY CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL.

--WE HAVE MADE FIRM APPROACHES TO BOTH COUNTRIES ON THIS SUBJECT--AS WELL AS TO ETHIOPIA. WE WILL CONTINUE TO BRING PRESSURES TO BEAR BOTH DIRECTLY AND, WHERE POSSIBLE, THROUGH OTHERS. VANCE

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DRAFTED BY IO/UNA:BJSHARP  
APPROVED BY IO/UNA:AFHOLLOWAY  
S/S-O:MVKENNEDY

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INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 070318

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 070318 ACTION NAIROBI 18 MAR 78

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 070318

EXDIS FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SO, MASS

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1. BEGIN SUGGESTED LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION: THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO CONVEY HIS PERSONAL GREETINGS AND HIS RESPECT FOR YOUR DECISION TO WITHDRAW SOMALI FORCES FROM THE OGADEN. WE RECOGNIZE THE GRAVITY OF THAT DECISION. WE BELIEVE IT WAS CORRECT AND WILL ENHANCE SOMALIA'S INTERNATIONAL STANDING.
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ME AS HIS SPECIAL EMISSARY TO YOU IMMEDIATELY UPON THE DEPARTURE OF SOMALI TROOPS FROM THE OGADEN, PRESIDENT CARTER WANTED TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE SOMALI PEOPLE THAT IN THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE, THEY CAN COUNT ON THE HELP OF THE UNITED STATES. HE ALSO WANTED TO DEMONSTRATE HIS GENUINE WILLINGNESS TO WORK WITH YOU PERSONALLY AND THE GOVERNMENT YOU LEAD IN THE DIFFICULT TASKS THAT LIE AHEAD.

6. TO PROVIDE PUBLIC EVIDENCE OF THE US WILLINGNESS TO HELP SOMALIA PROVIDE FOR THE HUMAN NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE, I HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED DURING MY STAY HERE TO SIGN THE \$7 MILLION FOOD AID AGREEMENT WHICH HAS BEEN WORKED



OUT BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. THE UNITED STATES IS ALSO PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE IMMEDIATELY TOWARD HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES FROM THE OGADEN CONFLICT.

7. THE PRESIDENT IS NOW WILLING TO SEEK AUTHORITY FROM THE CONGRESS TO OBTAIN MILITARY AND ADDITIONAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR SOMALIA IN ORDER THAT THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING THE WELFARE OF THE SOMALI PEOPLE CAN PROCEED AT AN ACCELERATED PACE AND IN PEACE AND SECURITY. EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO EXPEDITE THE PROCESS OF FIRST SEEKING CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL AND THEN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE SO THAT SOMALIA MAY RECEIVE ADDITIONAL AMERI-

CAN AID IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WE ALSO STAND READY TO WORK WITH SOMALIA'S FRIENDS TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO ASSIST YOUR COUNTRY.

8. I WANT TO DISCUSS IN GREATER DETAIL THE FORMS OF THIS ASSISTANCE AND YOUR PERCEPTIONS OF SOMALIA'S NEEDS. HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENT ASKED ME TO REQUEST THAT YOU REAFFIRM YOUR GOVERNMENT'S ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UN AND OAU CHARTERS AND SPECIFICALLY THAT YOU GIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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9. I MUST TELL YOU FRANKLY AND DIRECTLY AS FRIENDS TALK TO FRIENDS THAT WITHOUT THIS ASSURANCE THE PRESIDENT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO REQUEST THAT THE CONGRESS PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA.

10. I AM, OF COURSE, AWARE THAT SATISFYING THE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST IS NOT EASY FOR YOU. YOUR CONCERN FOR THE RIGHTS AND WELFARE OF SOMALIS WHO LIVE OUTSIDE SOMALIA PROPER IS PERFECTLY UNDERSTANDABLE. I UNDERSTAND, TOO, THAT YOU FEEL THAT HISTORY HAS BEEN UNJUST TO THE SOMALI PEOPLE AND I SYMPATHIZE WITH THAT FEELING. YOU HAVE JUST BEEN THROUGH A TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE DURING WHICH YOU ATTEMPTED TO PURSUE A GOAL YOU FEEL PASSIONATELY TO BE JUST, AND YOU PURSUED IT UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH YOU HAD REASON TO HOPE THAT YOUR CAUSE WOULD RECEIVE SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY THE WESTERN WORLD. IT HAS NOW BEEN TELLINGLY DEMONSTRATED THAT, NO MATTER HOW MUCH SYMPATHY THERE

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14. THIS IS ALSO TRUE IN DJIBOUTI, WHERE VIOLENCE  
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15. IF SIAD AGREES TO PROVIDE THE ASSURANCES WE REQUIRE,  
YOU COULD RESPOND ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

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GOVERNMENT YOUR DEFENSIVE NEEDS, LOOKING TOWARD A SUB-  
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--IN ADDITION, AS AN EARNEST OF OUR SINCERITY, I AM  
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TO APPROACH THE CONGRESS REGARDING A DOLLARS 10 MILLION  
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PACKAGE OF NON-LETHAL DEFENSIVE ITEMS, WHICH WE COULD  
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DEFENSIVE SECURITY SUPPORT.

16. FOLLOWING ARE SUGGESTED RESPONSES TO POINTS WHICH SIAD BARRE MAY RAISE:

A) SIAD MAY EXPRESS FRUSTRATION OVER THE IMPOSITION OF "ADDITIONAL" US CONDITIONS FOR MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOLLOWING HIS ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL THAT HE WITHDRAW COUPLED WITH OUR OFFER TO CONSIDER ASSISTANCE.

SUGGESTED REPLY:

--THE PRESIDENT DID NOT IMPOSE ADDITIONAL CONDITIONS. IN OUR VIEW, HIS STATEMENT REFLECTED A POSITION WHICH HAS CONFIDENTIAL

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BEEN IMPLICIT IN THE REPEATED US ENDORSEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF THE OGADEN CONFLICT, AS WELL AS IN THE SUSPENSION, ONCE REGULAR SOMALI UNITS WERE DETECTED IN THE OGADEN, OF OUR AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO PROVIDE DEFENSIVE ASSISTANCE, AND IN OUR CALL FOR A SOMALI WITHDRAWAL AS A NECESSARY PRECONDITION TO SETTLEMENT. WITHOUT ASSURANCE THAT SOMALIA INTENDS IN THE FUTURE TO RESPECT ITS BORDERS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS, IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE US TO PROVIDE SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA BEYOND THE ASSISTANCE WE ARE PROVIDING NOW.

B) SIAD MAY ASK WHETHER THE US INTENDS TO SEEK SIMILAR ASSURANCES FROM SOMALIA'S NEIGHBORS CONCERNING THEIR INTENTION TO RESPECT SOMALIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

SUGGESTED REPLY:

--IT HAS BEEN OUR IMPRESSION THAT ALL OF SOMALIA'S NEIGHBORS HAVE GONE ON RECORD IN PUBLIC AS STATING THEY HAVE NO CLAIMS WITH RESPECT TO THE TERRITORIES OR POPULATIONS OF ANY OF THEIR NEIGHBORS.

C) SIAD MAY RAISE THE ISSUE OF SELF-DETERMINATION, ASSERT THAT THIS PRINCIPLE TAKES PRECEDENCE (AT LEAST FOR SOMALIA) OVER THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF "IMPERIAL" BOUNDARIES, AND ASK WHY THE US APPEARS TO IGNORE THIS WILSONIAN PRINCIPLE IN DEALING WITH SOMALIA'S SITUATION.

SUGGESTED REPLY:

--THE US DOES SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF SELF-DETERMINATION AS ONE OF THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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RELATIONS, BUT NOT TO THE EXCLUSION OF OTHER PRINCIPLES, INCLUDING TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NON-USE OF FORCE TO RESOLVE INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES. IN THE PARTICULAR CASE OF AFRICA, THE AFRICAN STATES THEMSELVES, THROUGH THE OAU CHARTER, HAVE AGREED THAT THE PRESERVATION OF EXISTING BOUNDARIES FOR THE SAKE OF HARMONY BETWEEN STATES MUST TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE UNIFICATION OF ETHNIC GROUPINGS BASED ON SELF-DETERMINATION. SINCE WE ALSO ARE COMMITTED TO THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE, WE FIND NO GROUNDS FOR CHALLENGING THIS DECISION BY THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AFRICAN STATES.

D) SIAD MAY ASK HOW THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES TO GET THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS OUT OF ETHIOPIA:

SUGGESTED REPLY:

--THIS IS A COMPLICATED SITUATION, AND WE DO NOT HAVE THE MEANS OF FORCING THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS OUT.

--WE BELIEVE THAT YOUR ASSURANCES REGARDING THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF YOUR NEIGHBORS WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR US TO PRESS THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS TO WITHDRAW. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD ALSO MAKE IT EASIER FOR MANY OTHER AFRICAN STATES TO PUBLICLY CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL.

--WE HAVE MADE FIRM APPROACHES TO BOTH COUNTRIES ON THIS SUBJECT--AS WELL AS TO ETHIOPIA. WE WILL CONTINUE TO BRING PRESSURES TO BEAR BOTH DIRECTLY AND, WHERE POSSIBLE, THROUGH OTHERS. VANCE  
UNQUOTE VANCE

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

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